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ABSTRACT

Noting that television debates have become a regular feature of the media politics by which candidates seek office, this annotated bibliography is particularly intended to assist teachers and researchers of debate, argumentation, and political communication. The 40 citations are limited to the television era of American politics and categorized as follows: (1) scholarly books and monographs; (2) public affairs books and monographs; (3) academic articles and chapters; (4) papers from academic conferences; and (5) debate transcripts and videotapes. (NKA)

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POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DEBATING

A Selected, Annotated Bibliography Prepared by

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TV debates have become a regular feature of the media politics by which candidates seek office. This bibliography is limited to the TV era of American politics, and is intended to assist three group: 1) teachers of debate, argumentation and political communication; 2) researchers investigating campaign debates; and 3) debate sponsors and participants.

The following studies are drawn from well over 200 books, chapters, articles and conference papers on this topic. Entries followed by ED numbers are abstracted in Resources in Education (RIE); see page 4 for ordering information.

Part I: Scholarly Books and Monographs

Bishop, George, Robert G. Meadow, and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, eds. The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Policy Perspectives. New York: Praeger, 1978. Primarily concerned with the 1976 debates, although some attention is given to the 1960 debates. Includes 10 scholarly essays, most of which focus on attempts to measure the effects of 1976 debates.

Bitzer, Lloyd and Theodore Rueter. Carter vs. Ford: The Counterfeit Debates of 1976. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1980. A close textual analysis of the argumentation in the 1976 debates with an extensive critique of the debate format and suggestions for improved formats.

Kraus, Sidney, ed. The Great Debates: Background-Perspective-Effects. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1962. Includes 14 academic studies and 5 reports from politicians and news media representatives involved in the 1960 debates. Greatest attention is given to debate effects.

Kraus, Sidney, ed. The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1979. Similar to the Kraus anthology on the 1960 debates, but more extensive. Includes 20 academic studies and 7 reports from journalists, politicians, and other individuals involved in public affairs groups concerned with the debates. Primarily concerned with debate effects and secondarily with debate policy.

• Martel, Myles. Political Campaign Debates: Images, Strategies, and Tactics. New York: Longman, 1983. Most comprehensive analysis of political debate strategy available. Covers all electoral levels. The author is a former professor of speech communication and college debate coach, who served as a debate advisor to Reagan in 1980.

Ritter, Kurt, ed. The 1980 Presidential Debates. Lawrence, Kansas: The Allen Press, 1981 (special issue of Speaker & Gavel, Vol. 18, No. 2). Also available in microfiche through ERIC: ED 228 682. The only compilation of studies on the 1980 debates. Presents 8 academic essays, including an "insider's" report from Ronald Reagan's debate advisor. Greatest attention given to debate content and formats.

Part II: Public Affairs Books and Monographs

Face the Nation: A Manual on Televised Political Debates. San Francisco: League of Women Voters of California, 1979. A detailed guide (140 pages) to sponsoring campaign debates based largely upon the League's 4 debates in the 1978 governor's campaign in California. The most practical of the public affairs publications on political debates.

Mitchell, Lee M. With the Nation Watching: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Televised Presidential Debates. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1979. Argues that presidential debates should be encouraged, but not required. Offers a blueprint for better TV debates.

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Ranney, Austin, ed. The Past and Future of Presidential Debates. Washington: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1979. Focuses on the value of presidential debates in public affairs. The most scholarly and thorough of the public affairs publications on campaign debates.

Swerdlow, Joel L. Beyond Debate: A Paper on Televised Presidential Debates. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1984. The most up-to-date brief survey of key issues in debate policy: debate formats, debate participation, and debate sponsorship.

Part III: Academic Articles and Chapters

Anderson, James A. and Robert K. Avery. "An Analysis of Changes in Voter Perception of Candidates' Positions," Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 354-361. Surveys of families after each of the 1976 presidential debates suggest that the debates tended to reinforce voters' prior perceptions of candidates' positions on issues, as well as reinforcing the voters' own positions on those issues.

Benquist, Goodwin F. and James L. Golden. "Media Rhetoric, Criticism, and the Public Perception of the 1980 Presidential Debates," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 67 (1981), 125-137. Through 6 claims, the authors provide a composite view of the influential contributions that news media anchormen, editors, and reporters made in giving meaning to the 1980 debates.

Blankenship, Jane, Marlene G. Fine, and Leslie K. Davis. "The 1980 Republican Primary Debates: The Transformation of Actor to Scene," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 69 (1983), 25-36. Through an examination of the 5 TV debates and one radio debate, the authors reveal how Reagan came to dominate the 1980 primaries.

Bryski, Bruce G. "An Analysis of Evidence in the First Ford/Carter Debate," Journal of Applied Communication Research, 6 (1978), 19-30. Reports the quantity, accuracy and reliability of evidence used in the 1st 1976 debate; describes Carter's use of evidence as more effective and accurate. Note: An earlier versiton of this study is available through the ERIC system: ED 137 873.

Bowes, John E. and Herbert Strentz. "Candidate Images: Stereotyping and the 1976 Debates," Communication Yearbook II, ed. Brent D Ruben. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1979, pp. 391-406. Examines the process of candidate image formation and change in terms of the congruency between candidates' and voters' views on issues, and in terms of four stereotyping components: homogenizations, polarization, fixedness, and reification.

Chaffee, Steven H. "Approaches of U.S. Scholars to the Study of Televised Political Debates," Political Communication Review, 4 (1979) 19-33. Reviews political debate research (1960-1976) with emphasis upon the types of research questions pursued and the generic approaches employed, particularly the traditional persuasive paradigm versus the journalistic approach.

Chaffee, Steven H. "Presidential Debates-Are They Helpful to Voters?" Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 330-346. On the basis of a wide variety of studies of the 1960 and 1976 debates, Chaffee concludes that debates have a high value in the political process.

Desmond, Roger Jon and Thomas R. Donahue. "The Role of the 1976 Televised Presidential Debates in the Political Socialization of Adolescents," Communication Quarterly, 29 (1981), 302-308. The social class of parents was the best predictor of how adolescents viewed the importance of the 1st 1976 debate. Interpersonal communication prior to the debate and immediately after the telecast was the factor which best predicted the adolescents' perceptions of who won the debate.

Ellsworth, John H. "Rationality and Campaigning: A Content Analysis of the 1960 presidential Campaign Debates," Western Political Science Quarterly, 18 (1965), 794-802. Compares the discourse in the 1960 debates with other campaign discourse in the 1960 election. Finds that in the debates the candidates devoted more time to making position statements, offering evidence for their positions, and giving reasoned arguments in support of their positions than they did in non-debate discourse.

Graber, Doris A. and Young Yun Kim. "Why John Q. Public Did Not Learn Much from the 1976 Presidential Debates," Communication Yearbook II, ed. Brent D. Ruben. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1979, pp. 407-421. Concludes that the 1976 debates had a quite limited, but measurable impact upon voter learning, particularly among those who were already knowledgeable about the candidates and the campaign prior to the debates. Discusses factors which limited voter learning from the debates.

Hellweg, Susan A. and Steven L. Phillips. "A Verbal and Visual Analysis of the 1980 Houston Republican Presidential Primary Debate," Southern Speech Communication Journal, 47 (1981), 23-28. Finds that Ronald Reagan and George Bush employed similar verbal communication in the final Republican primary debate in 1976. Reports that the format gave greater TV camera time and speaking time to Reagan, but that Bush may have used his visual communication more effectively than Reagan.

Kraus, Sidney. "Presidential Debates in 1964," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 50 (1964), 19-23. Considers the participation of an incumbent in presidential debates, the format of such debates, and the relative emphasis upon images versus issues that might occur in such debates.

Kraus, Sidney and Dennis K. Davis. "Political Debates," Handbook of Political Communication, eds. Dan D. Nimmo and Keith Sanders. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publication, 1981, pp. 273-296. Reviews classical democratic theory and studies of the impact of TV debates. Argues in favor of institutionalizing political debates.

Lemert, James B., William R. Elliot, Karl J. Nestvold, and Galen R. Rarick. "Effects of Viewing a Presidential Primary Debate," Communication Research, 10 (1983), 155-173. Based upon data from viewers of the 1980 New Hampshire Republican primary TV debate, the authors conclude that watching a TV debate early in the campaign increases voters' interest in the campaign and increases their subsequent efforts to gain information about the campaign.

McCall, Jeffrey M. "The Panelists as Pseudo-Debaters: An Evaluation of the Questions and the Questioners in the Major Debates of 1980," Journal of the American Forensic Association, in press. Also available through ERIC: ED 226 379. Based upon analyses of the Reagan-Carter and Reagan-Anderson debates, the author recommends specific guidelines and questioning techniques to improve the effectiveness of journalists serving as panelists in TV debates.

Meadow, Robert G. "Televised Presidential Debates as Whistle Stop Speeches," Television Coverage of the 1980 Presidential Campaign, ed. William C. Adams. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1983, pp. 89-102. Employs computer-assisted content analysis to reveal that many of the statements in the 2 major 1980 presidential debates were stock campaign responses rather than spontaneous and original statements by Carter and Reagan.

Meadow, Robert G. and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck. "Candidate Political Philosophy: Revelations in the 1960 and 1976 Debates," Presidential Studies Quarterly, 10 (1980), 234-243. Identifies the political philosophies implicit in the candidates' statements in the 1960 and 1976 debates. Notes that the administration of each president corresponded with the philosophy implicit in his debating as a candidate.

Messaris, Paul, Bruce Eckman, and Gary Gumpert. "Editing Structure in the Televised Versions of the 1976 Presidential Debates," Journal of Broadcasting, 23 (1979), 359-369. Examines the TV camera shots as a form of editing structure in the 3 Carter-Ford debates. Considers type, duration, and frequency of camera shots.

Pfau, Michael. "Criteria and Format to Optimize Political Debates: An Analysis of South Dakota's 'Election 80' Series," Journal of the American Forensic Association, 19 (1983), 205-214. Describes the format developed for the South Dakota TV debates, illustrates how the format conforms more closely to genuine debate than other TV formats, and provides data from candidates and news media participants evaluating the format.

Tiemens, Robert K. "Television's Portrayal of the 1976 Presidential Debates: An Analysis of Visual Content," Communication Monographs, 45 (1978), 362-370. Provides a visual content analysis of the 3 1976 debates, showing that Carter benefited more than Ford from the visual dimension of TV.

Tiemens, Robert K., Susan A. Hellweg, Philip Kipper, and Steven L. Phillips. "An Integrative Verbal and Visual Analysis of the Carter-Reagan Debate," Communication Quarterly, in press. Combines verbal and visual content analyses of the 1980 Reagan-Carter debate, focusing upon points of clash.

Trent, Judith S. and Robert V. Friedenberg. "Debates in Political Campaigns," Chapter 7 in Trent and Friedenberg's Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices. New York: Praeger, 1983, pp. 233-273. The best short overview of campaign debates. Provices an historical review of political debates, cites requisite conditions for debates to occur, outlines debating strategies of candidates, and summarizes the effects of TV debates.

Vancil, David L. and Sue D. Pendell. "Winning Presidential Debates: An Analysis of Criteria Influencing Audience Response," Western Journal of Speech Communication, 48 (1984), 62-74. Based upon audience responses to the 1980 Reagan-Carter debate, the authors describe 6 criteria which influence audience judgments about who won a televised political debate.

Part IV: Papers from Academic Conferences

Decker, Warren D. "The League of Women Voters: Sponsorship, Promotion, and Definition of Public Political Debate." Presented to the Speech Communication Association, Anaheim, Calif., Nov. 12-15, 1981. ED 210 750. Identifies 3 obstacles to TV debates which the League tries to overcome. Reports the League's efforts to promote debates, its selection procedure for debate moderators and panelists, and its views on good debate formats.

Frye, Jerry K. and Bruce G. Bryski. "Accident and Design: Implications of Technical and Functional Factors of Network Television Coverage of the Ford/Carter Presidential Debates." Presented to the Eastern Communication Association, Boston, March 16-18, 1978. ED 158 336. Ford had more camera time, but Carter was shown more often in "reaction" shots while his opponent spoke, and projected a more positive visual image during "reaction" shots than did Ford.

Geddes, LaDonna McMurray. "315: Another Dimension of 'Equality'." Presented to the Western Speech Communication Association, Seattle, Nov. 23-26, 1975. ED 117 766. An analysis of how Sec. 315 of the Communications Act (the "equal time doctrine") affected the TV debates between McGovern and Humphrey in the 1972 California Democratic presidential primary.

Hellweg, Susan A. and Steven L. Phillips. "Form and Substance: A Comparative Analysis of the 1980 Presidential Debate Formats." Presented to the Conference on Culture and Communication, San Diego, Feb. 1981. ED 204 820. Compares formats of all 7 TV debates, including the 5 Republican primary forums. Presents 5 recommendations for improved debate formats.

Ritter, Kurt and James W. Gibson. "The Quality of the 1980 Presidential Forums: A 'Revisionist' Position on Presidential Debates." Presented to the Western Speech Communication Association, San Jose, Calif., Feb. 14-17, 1981. ED 207 096. Argues that academic critics have imposed an unnecessarily narrow definition of "debate" when studying campaign forums. Concludes that the quality of TV debates suffers because of deficiencies in the performance of journalists serving as debate panelists and because of the debating style of incumbent presidents.

Part V: Debate Transcripts and Video-Tapes

Transcripts of Presidential Debates: Transcripts of all 4 Kennedy-Nixon debates are in Kraus (1962), pp. 348-430 (see Part I for full bibliographic citation). Transcripts of all 3 Carter-Ford debates and the single vice presidential debate (Mondale-Dole) are in Kraus (1979), pp. 453-541; Bishop (1978), pp. 213-305; and Bitzer and Rueter (1980), pp. 253-391 (see Part I for full bibliographic citations). Transcripts of all 7 TV debates (including the 5 Republican primary debates) are presented in Transcripts of the 1980 Presidential Debates, ed. Theodore Rueter (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1982), a "printed on demand" publication.

Video-Tapes of Televised Political Debates: The Vanderbilt University Television News Archive currently has the most extensive collection of political campaign debates available to scholars and teachers. Its holdings include: portions of the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates, the 3 McGovern-Humphrey debates of the 1972 California Democratic primary campaign, all of the 1976 presidential and vice presidential debates, 3 TV debates from the 1980 presidential campaign (including the two major debates), and 8 out of the 14 TV debates from the 1984 Democratic presidential primary campaign. Vanderbilt undoubtedly will add any 1984 general election presidential debates to its archive. For information on fees and holdings, see Television News Index and Abstracts (published monthly), or write to: Vanderbilt Television News Archive, Vanderbilt University Library, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37240.

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Entries followed by ED numbers are documents abstracted in Resources in Education (RIE), the ERIC monthly abstract journal. The complete documents are available in paper copy or microfiche from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 3900 Wheeler Ave., Alexandria, VA 22304. For ordering information, see the latest issue of RIE in your library or write to the ERIC Speech Communication Module, 5105 Backlick Road, Suite E, Annandale, VA 22003. Many of the journal articles in this bibliography are also indexed in the ERIC monthly journal, Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE). (ERIC is the acronym for Educational Resources Information Center.)